

The Classical Bulletin

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One Roman's Family

In his enthusiasm about a modern orator, a reporter once wrote his hero's forensic gifts were inherited from Mark Antony, to whom he traced his descent. Since few families, indeed, can definitely count their lineage as far back as a thousand years, it may be interesting at any rate to trace the fortunes of the descendants of Mark Antony until the various lines died out or disappeared from the records of history.

Cicero tells us (*Phil.* 2.2.) that Antony had at one time, to win the favor of the lower classes and probably a handsome dowry, married the daughter of a freedman, Fadius, and had had children by the marriage. Nothing more is known of this episode. The lady is referred to by modern biographers of Antony as Fadia Galla since Cicero on other occasions had written letters to one M. Fadius Gallus (*Fam.* 7.23-27), evidently a dealer in *objets d'art*, and possibly a freedman of Gallic origin. The marriage was not of long duration, and the children mentioned must have died at an early age; since, however great his faults of character, Antony was concerned for the welfare of his acknowledged offspring, even though he had lost interest in their various mothers.

First and Second Marriages

Whether the first marriage was terminated by death or divorce, Antony's second was an alliance with the senatorial order in the person of his own first cousin, Antonia, daughter of C. Antonius, Cicero's colleague in the consulship of 63 B.C. He divorced her in 47 B.C. on the grounds of a liaison with C. Cornelius Dollabella (*Plut. Ant.* 9.2), the tribune. In view of Antony's reputation, one cannot but wonder whether it was, not righteous indignation but rather envy of Dollabella who was his close rival as the leading libertine and spendthrift of the time, that prompted his action.

In spite of the divorce, Antony still considered the only child of the marriage, a daughter, Antonia, so valuable a political asset that he betrothed her in 44 B.C. to the son of M. Lepidus so as to keep in the latter's good graces (*Dio Cass.* 44.53). The girl was probably six or seven at the time, for seven years later, in 37 B.C., in the midst of the war against Sextus Pompey, Antony sent a representative to Lepidus to arrange for the marriage in order to have his daughter settled before he was to leave for a

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Parthian campaign. We must infer that by this time she had reached her thirteenth year, the minimum legal age for a bride (*App. BCiv* 5.93). The wedding, however, did not take place; but about 34 B.C. Antonia was married to Pythodorus, a wealthy man originally from Nysa (*Strab.* 649) but later a citizen of Tralles (*ibid.* 555), who had been of great help to Pompey in his eastern campaign and was therefore pro-Roman. Antony obviously had no prejudice against an Asiatic Greek son-in-law, and Cleopatra no objection to a wealthy alliance for her stepdaughter at the time. Antonia is not included among the children surviving Antony at his death in 30 B.C. (*Plut. Ant.* 87). Another indication that she died not many years after her marriage is the fact that her two younger half-sisters, daughters of Antony by Octavia, are known as Octavia Maior and Minor, designations which would not have been applied to them, if a still older sister, Antonia, were alive.

Children of Pythodoris

Antonia did leave a daughter, called Pythodoris Philometor after her father (*Eph. Epigr.* I p. 270), who grew up to be a wise and able woman (*Strab.* 555) and became the wife of Polemo I Eusebes, king of Pontus, then a widower (*Dio Cass.* 54.14.4-6). After his death Pythodoris succeeded to the throne (*Strab.* 649). She was married a second time to Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, who died in 17 A.D. (*Strab.* 556), and survived until 21 A.D. She may

have retired during her last years to her daughter and grandchildren in Thrace. An inscription to her has been found in Athens (*CIA* III 547 [1]). Of the two other children of Polemo and Pythodorus, Zeno became king of Armenia and ruled until his death in 35 A.D. (*Tac. Ann.* 2.56). The second son remained a private citizen (*Strab.* 556). The daughter, Antonia Tryphaena, carried on a royal line (*Tac. Ann.* 3.38). Her husband was Cotys II (*ibid.*), son of Rhoemetaces, king of Thrace. When he was murdered at the instigation of his brother, Rhaescuporis II, she took her three young sons, Cotys, Polemo, and Rhoemetaces III to Rome, to plead for their rights (*Tac. Ann.* 2.67). After this she herself probably resided at Cyzicus (*BCH* VI p. 612). In Rome the boys were educated in the imperial household with the young Gaius. The latter, after ascending the throne in 38 A.D., possibly as an act of *pietas* as well as friendship (for all were descendants of Mark Antony), made Cotys king of Lesser Armenia, and parts of Arabia, Polemo II ruler of Pontus, his ancestral realm, and gave to Rhoemetaces III his paternal kingdom of East Thrace (*Dio. Cass.* 59.1212). Claudius annexed this kingdom as a province in 47 A.D. after the murder of Rhoemetaces by his wife. The emperor had given Polemo II the Cilician principality of Olba, Cennatis, and Lalassis, and took the kingdom of Bosphorus for Mithridates, who had been the *de facto* ruler there (*Dio Cass.* 60.8.2). Polemo ruled Pontus until 63, when he abdicated, and Nero reduced it to the status of a Roman province (*Suet. Ner.* 18). That he had died before is surmised by the fact that the province rebelled in that year under one of his freedmen (*Tac. Hist.* 3.47).

Polemo II was for a short time married to Berenice, one of the three daughters of Herod Agrippa. Though some historians presume the existence of a son of this marriage, M. Antonius Polemo, Josephus, who gives the marital history (*AJ* 20.27) of these *tres mobiles sorores*, mentions no child of Berenice, though he names the sons of her sisters. The line which continued therefore must have sprung from some other unknown wife or concubine of Polemo II, or from another branch of the family which took the noble name. One such descendant is M. Antonius Polemo, known from coins of Olba which call him *Archiereos Olbes*. A certain M. Antonius Zeno, a priest of Laodicea, is known from the coins of that city of the time of Claudius and Nero.

The Sophist Antonius Polemo

In the second century, another descendant of Antony appeared outstanding in oratory and politics. He was Antonius Polemo the sophist (*Philostr. VS* 25.1-5:2.25.2). Born in Laodicea of a distinguished family, he was probably a descendant of M. Antonius

Zeno, the priest of that city. At an early age he had settled in Smyrna, where he founded a celebrated school of rhetoric frequented by students from great distances, among whom was Herodes Atticus. He was held in high honor by the people of Smyrna as a religious and political leader, given the title of *στρατηγός*, and often made representative of Smyrna as ambassador. Being proud and haughty, he rode about in a chariot with silver bridles. He was honored and on intimate terms with three emperors, Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius. He had suffered for some time with arthritis and died at the age of fifty-six, while preparing a brief for the city of Smyrna in a case to be tried before the Emperor Antoninus. His speech was, however, read in court and won the suit for Smyrna. Hence the city claimed his tomb, though he was actually buried in his family sepulchre in Laodicea.

The family, of consular rank, continued, but produced no noteworthy member for three generations. Then the grandson of Antonius Polemo's son Attalus, one Hermocrates, was prominent (*ibid.* 2.25.20). His father was Ruffianus of Phocis, who had married Callisto, the daughter of Attalus. This lady seems to have been a throwback to Antony, the triumvir. She fell in love with a slave, quarreled with her husband, and showed no grief at his early death.

Hermocrates, who was handsome, charming, and a fine actor, squandered his patrimony on drink and boon companions. He wanted no honors; for he had, he said, inherited them from his great-grandfather. He had also inherited the latter's taste for luxury. On one occasion he insisted on using frankincense, then a scarce item, for public sacrifices. In an effort to reform him, the Emperor Septimius Severus made him marry the unattractive daughter of a rich man named Antipater, whom he had earlier refused. He soon divorced her on the grounds of incompatibility. With Hermocrates' death and burial in the family tomb the eastern branch of Antony's descendants is lost to history.

Antony's Third Wife

Antony's third wife was the imperious Fulvia, who, Plutarch assures us (*Ant.* 3), so trained him to obey a domineering woman that she prepared him for his life with Cleopatra. Her penchant for gangster husbands was such that, when she married Antony, she had already been twice widowed by the successive deaths of Clodius and Curio. To Antony she bore two sons, Antyllus and Iullus Antonius (*Plut. Ant.* 7).

Antyllus, given a Greek diminutive of the name by the Athenians, was taken by his father to the East while a very small child, for baby sitting was no problem in a slave society. He remained with his

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father's entourage in the household of Cleopatra (ibid. 53, 71.) until his death. He was betrayed and put to death by his tutor at Octavian's order after the latter captured Alexandria (Dio. Cass. 51.15; Plut. Ant. 81).

The younger boy, on the other hand, had been left in Rome and after the death of his mother and his father's marriage to Octavia was brought up in the household of his step-mother in the old republican tradition (Plut. Ant. 57.3, 87). Suetonius names one of his teachers of rhetoric (*Gram.* 18). He not only received a good education, but also inherited a large share of his father's estate (Dio 51.15). He was held in favor by Octavian and passed through the *cursus honorum* (ibid. 54.26), becoming consul in 10 B.C. In his case, unfortunately, heredity proved a stronger factor than environment and training. Like both his parents, he was equally ambitious and licentious. He became involved with the emperor's daughter, Julia, as paramour and fellow-conspirator (Sen. *De Brev. Vit.* 5.4); and when the plot and scandal were revealed, he was driven to suicide in 2 B.C. (Vell. Pat. 2.100.4).

In 21 B.C., while high in the favor of Augustus, Iullus Antonius had married the niece of the princeps, Marcella, younger daughter of Octavia, recently divorced by Agrippa to permit the latter's marriage with the newly widowed Julia (Plut. Ant. 87.3). There were two sons of this marriage. The older was also Iullus Antonius, as is concluded from an inscription (*CIL* VI 12010), where Mark Antony's son is designated as *Iullus Antonius pater* and from the fact that the son who reached maturity has the praenomen Lucius, not that of his father. This Iullus must have died in childhood; for there is no further reference to him. Lucius Antonius, following his father's death in 2 B.C., was sent by Augustus, his great-uncle, to Marseilles for his education and to remove him from the political scene. He died there in 25 A.D. and was buried in the tomb of the Octavii (Tac. Ann. 44). He must have been nearly forty at the time. So ended the line of Antony and Fulvia.

Octavia, Antony's Fourth Wife

Antony's fourth marriage was one of convenience, a political union to strengthen the ties that bound him to his fellow triumvir, Octavian; for these had already showed signs of weakening. The bride—one is tempted to say the victim—was Octavia, whose first husband, Marcellus, had just died. There were two daughters of this union, Antonia Maior and Antonia Minor. (Plut. Ant. 87.3). For these nieces, Octavian provided by assigning them fair shares of their father's property after his death in 30 B.C. (Dio Cass. 51.15) and by arranging suitable marriages. Antonia Maior became the wife of the aristocrat Lucius

Domitius Ahenobarbus (Suet. Ner. 5). Antonia Minor was married to Drusus, the son of Livia, who had been adopted by Augustus. Hence this line of Antony's progeny became involved in the well-known tragedy of the Julio-Claudian house. Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, the son of Antonia Maior, married Agrippina Minor and became the father of the Emperor Nero. It is reported (Suet. Ner. 6.1) that, on being congratulated on the birth of his son, he remarked only too prophetically, to render it freely, "Look at me, look at my wife; what do you expect?" (*negantis quicquam ex se et Agrippina nisi detestabile et malo publico nasci potuisse*).

Of Ahenobarbus' two sisters, the elder, distinguished as Domitia Passieni,¹ from the name of her husband, after a stormy career in love and law-suits, was so rich and evidently childless, that Nero poisoned her in her old age (59 A.D.) in order to acquire her wealth without further waiting (Suet. Ner. 34.5). The younger sister, Domitia Lepida,² was equally ill-famed and unfortunate. Her only child was Valeria Messalina (Tac. Ann. 11.37). Though she had cared for Nero during his mother's exile (Suet. Ner. 6.3) and had won his devotion (Tac. Ann. 64.6), he was ultimately persuaded to side with Agrippina in the rivalry of the two women, testified against his aunt (Suet. Ner. 7), and did not oppose her condemnation to death in 53 (Tac. Ann. 12.65.2).

Descendants of Antonia Minor

Of the descendants of Antonia Minor, three became emperor in turn, Caligula her grandson and son of her elder son Germanicus, her own son Claudius, and her great-grandson Nero, who was the son of Agrippina Minor, both the niece and last wife of Claudius. None of the three left a line of descent.³ The stock did continue through Antonia's granddaughter, Julia, daughter of her daughter, Livilla, who was infamous in the conspiracy of Sejanus, and of Drusus Minor, son of Tiberius. Julia's first marriage to her cousin, Nero, son of Germanicus, who was put to death by Tiberius, was childless.

Subsequently Julia married C. Rubellius Blandus, of a cultured equestrian family from Tibur (Tac. Ann. 6.27.1, 14.22).⁴ He held all the offices of the *cursus honorum* (Tac. Ann. 6.45.3), was pontifex (*CIL* XIV 3576), a member of the senate (Tac. Ann. 3.23.2, 51.1), and proconsul (*CIL* XIV 3556). Julia herself was unjustly put to death because of the jealousy of Messalina (Suet. Claud. 29.1; Sen. *Apocol.* 10.4; Dio Cass. 60.18.4; Tac. Ann. 13.32, 43). The eldest child of this marriage, Rubellius Plautus, a man of high character (Tac. Ann. 14.22), married Antistia Politta (ibid. 14.58, 59), daughter of L. Antistus Vetus, of a consular family, himself consul in 55 A.D. (ibid. 13.11).

Rubellius Plautus had been accused in 55 A.D. of plotting with Agrippina against Nero; for both were in the same degree of descent from Octavia, sister of Augustus, great-great-grandsons. The charge was passed over at the time (*ibid.* 3.19-22). In 62, however, Rubellius Plautus was killed by Nero's order, after he had fled with his wife to his estates in Asia Minor (*ibid.* 14.57-60), and his head was brought to the emperor in Rome (*Dio Cass.* 62.14). Three years later Antistia, her father, and her maternal grandmother were forced to commit suicide because of Nero's hatred. The lurid circumstances are vividly described by Tacitus (*Ann.* 16.10). There were children of Rubellius Plautus and Antistia (*ibid.* 14.59). As to whether they had preceded their parents in death, or survived and were brought up by less prominent kinfolk, on the Tiburtine or some other provincial estates of the family,⁵ we have no record.

With the death of Nero and the establishment of the Flavian emperors, remote kinship to the Julio-Claudian house was neither an advantage nor a threat to life. A Rubellius Blandus is accused by Juvenal (8.39-43) of pride of birth. This man is regarded by J. E. B. Mayor in his note on the passage as a son of Rubellius Blandus.

A second son of Julia and Rubellius Blandus, (*Rubellius*) *Drusus, Blandi filius*, is identified only from an inscription (*CIL* VI 16057). Their daughter was called Rubellia Bassa. She possessed a residence in Rome, since the name Rubellia Bassa is found inscribed on the pipes that had supplied it with water. Her husband was Octavius Laenas. Their names are given in an inscription (*CIL* XIV 2610) of their grandson, Sergius Octavius Laenas Pontianus, consul in 131 A.D., the last known descendant of Antony and Octavia.

Antony and Cleopatra

Antony's fifth and final domestic adventure lasted with interruptions for seven years. He may have met Cleopatra casually in Alexandria or Rome before the assassination of Caesar. In 41 B.C., when he was commanding the Roman forces in the East, he summoned her to Cilicia (*Plut. Ant.* 25), returning to Alexandria, where he spent the winter in luxurious amusements (*ibid.* 28, 29). Their twin children, Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene, were born the following year. Four years later, while still the husband of Octavia, on being again sent to the East, he summoned Cleopatra to Syria, giving her valuable territories which had been granted him there (*ibid.* 36). A second son, Ptolemy Philadelphus (*Livy Per.* 132), was born in 36 B.C. After this event, in 34 B.C., disregarding the laws and standards of his native Rome, Antony, like many who still flout the accepted *mores*, declared himself and Cleopatra married in the sight of other gods and celebrated the union with

Ptolemaic rites in 34, at an elaborate spectacle in which the three children were presented to the populace of Alexandria as the descendants of the royal house, the twins as the divine sun and moon (*Plut. Ant.* 54.4-6).⁶ But the line of the Ptolemies was to end. After Actium, Antony's children by Cleopatra as well as those by Fulvia were taken into the integrated household of Octavia (*ibid.* 54.2) and educated with her own. The little twins, aged seven, were displayed in Octavian's triumph with a statue of their mother (*Dio. Cass.* 51.21.8).

Since there is no further record of either of the boys, they probably did not reach maturity.⁷ Cleopatra Selene was betrothed in 30 B.C. to Juba, son of Juba I, king of Mauretania, who had been brought up in Italy (*Dio Cass.* 51.15.6), received his father's kingdom, and was the most accomplished of rulers (*Plut. Ant.* 87, *Plin. HN* 5.15). She shared in the rule of what had become a prosperous court (*Strab.* 31). We probably have her portrait on coins of Juba. She must have died before 19 A.D., when Juba married Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia (*Joseph. BJ* 2.7.4).⁸

Cleopatra Selene's only son, Ptolemy, ruled with his father, and then alone from 23 A.D. (*Strab.* 828). He had aided the Romans against Tacfarinas and was rewarded with honors by Tiberius (*Tac. Ann.* 4.23-26). The last part of this account tells how he was put to death by Caligula in 40 A.D., because he had attracted special attention when he entered the theatre resplendent in a purple cloak. Dio Cassius, however (59.25), states that he was put to death in order that his wealth might be confiscated. Suetonius (*Calig.* 25) remarks that neither his loyalty nor his close relationship to the emperor (he was a grandson of Antony, while Gaius was a great-grandson) saved him. The Mauretanians avenged his death by rioting against Roman rule (*Plin. HN* 5.11) when that country was made into two provinces (*ibid.* 5.2, 20).

No heirs of the last Ptolemy are mentioned. Though Antony himself had boasted (*Plut. Ant.* 44.3, 24.1, 36.3-4) that he was like his ancestor Hercules, the sire of many kings, our search for his recorded descendants ends. We have, however, no definite evidence for the line of the descendants of Polemo, who retired into private life, or of the Rubellii, who flourished at Tibur. It may be interesting to surmise that some of the blood of Antony flowed in the veins of the beautiful and domineering Byzantine princesses, or that others of his line traveled into South Russia, Armenia, and Georgia, and are the ancestors of ambitious and ruthless commissars. An heir of Ptolemy could have been hidden from Caligula and founded a strain from which con-

temporary members of the Algerian FLN spring. Moreover, in Italy, cinema queens who come from the towns beyond Tibur may possibly be of the line of Mark Antony.

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NOTES

1 Her husband had handled successfully her law-suit against her brother, Ahenobarbus (Quint. Inst. 6.1.5). When she was plaintiff in another suit (ibid. 6.3.74), her opponent in disparagement remarked, "That she was so niggardly that she sold her old shoes," a charge which she parried by saying, "I never said that, but that you used to buy them." It is also recorded (Dig. 12.4.5) that she refunded to Paris, the mime, without protest, the money he had paid her for his freedom, since he was actually a free man. By so doing she avoided further investigation of her purchase of him. Papius divorced her to marry Agrippina (Suet. Ner. 6.3). Yet, though the women were rivals in love and politics, Agrippina on one occasion expressed herself as happy that Domitia was by her machinations actually aiding Nero's cause (Tac. Ann. 13.19, 21). Domitia had succeeded in acquiring much property. Estates at Baiae (Tac. Ann. 14.61) and Ravenna are mentioned (Dio Cass. 62.17). Gardens in Rome near Hadrian's tomb are referred to also (S.H.A. Ant. Pius. 5.12 and Aurelian 49.1). 2 Tacitus (Ann. 12.64.5) says of Agrippina and Domitia Lepida, "They differed little in either beauty, age, or wealth and both were immoral, notorious, and violent-tempered, and rivals no less in their vices than in whatever they owed to good fortune." That Lepida was married to Valerius Messalinus Barbatus is known from the name of her daughter Valeria Messalina (ibid. 11.37). She had been accused of scandalous conduct (Suet. Ner. 5). She quarreled with her daughter on the occasion of her second marriage to C. Appius Junius Silanus in the reign of Claudius (Dio Cass. 60.14.3) but stood by her at the end (Tac. Ann. 11.37). In 53, she was accused by Agrippina (Suet. Ner. 7) and put to death on the charge that she had incited slaves in Calabria to revolt (Tac. Ann. 12.65.2). 3 Caligula's only known child, Julia Drusilla, a mean little creature (Suet. Calig. 25.4), was murdered at the same time as her father and her mother, Caesonia (ibid. 49). Claudius' children were all unfortunate. His eldest child, Drusus, son of Urgulanilla, died before his father became emperor, as the result of a freak accident. He was approaching adolescence and had been betrothed to a daughter of Sejanus. While at play, throwing a pear into the air, he caught it in his mouth and was choked by it. Urgulanilla's second child, a girl, Claudia, born five months after her divorce, was first accepted by Claudius, then declared the child of his freedman, Botes, and sent to her mother. There is no further record of her (Suet. Claud. 27.1). Antonia, daughter of Claudius' third wife Paetina, was married first to Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (Dio Cass. 60.5.9; Suet. Claud. 27.2), whom her father later put to death (ibid. 29.2). Widowed, she married Faustus Cornelius Sulla Felix (Tac. Ann. 13.23) and had a son, Claudius, known only because we are told that Claudius forbade a decree in honor of his birth (Dio Cass. 61.30.6; Suet. Claud. 12). He too evidently did not survive. Sulla was sent to Marseilles by Nero (Tac. Ann. 13.47) and later murdered by his order (ibid. 14.57, 59) in 62. By like order, Antonia herself was also killed when she refused to marry Nero after the death of Poppaea (Suet. Ner. 35.14). The pitiful history of Britannicus and of his sister, Octavia, are too well known for elaboration here. Nero's only child, daughter of Poppaea, whom he honored as Claudia Augusta, died in infancy (Suet. Ner. 35.3). 4 His grandfather had been the first *eques Romanus* to teach rhetoric at Rome (Sen. Controv. 2, Praef. 5). His father (Tac. Ann. 6.27) was an officer of the mint under Augustus. 5 The late Dr. F. B. Marsh once remarked in conversation that, in all probability, some members of the old noble Roman families had left the political scene at Rome but continued to flourish in other towns of Italy. 6 Antony had acknowledged the children in 36 B.C. (Dio Cass. 49.3.4, 5; Plut. Ant. 36.3). In 34 he made rich donations to each as well as to Caesarion (Dio Cass. 49.41.1-3). The next year, Alexander, aged three, was betrothed to Iotape, the daughter of the king of Armenia (Dio Cass. 49.44.2, 40.2; Plut. Ant. 36.6). 7 CAH X p. 112 refers to a legend that one of the sons of Antony and Cleopatra was an ancestor of Zenobia. The source seems to be *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Tri-*

Aeneas: True Man of True Emotion

If the leading classical scholars of the past two hundred years had been handed a piece of charcoal and asked to sketch their idea of Vergil's Aeneas, the results would have been whimsical enough to rival Max Beerbohm. For the hero of the greatest Roman epic can well be entitled "the most misunderstood hero in literature." Although the *Aeneis* was second in popularity only to the Bible for one thousand years, and although it is still read, probed, and analyzed in nearly every university throughout the western world, yet its central figure has been called by supposedly scholarly men "either insipid or odious,"¹ "the shadow of a man,"² and "a tame and colorless character."³ But if Aeneas was actually no more than a limp and spineless puppet, how can the epic built upon his shoulders have endured the test of two millennia? Either the carping scholars were carried away by their misconception of Vergil's hero, or the *Aeneis* is the most overrated poem in history.

The purpose of this essay is not at all to applaud Aeneas to the skies and to try to make of him another Achilles or Odysseus. Vergil had an entirely different brand of hero in mind from the Homeric type—this, at least, is not controverted—a hero who would be the founder of a nation and the "ideal type" of that nation. There is no loss in granting the traditional interpretation that Aeneas is a type, but this concession does not mean that Aeneas is therefore a flat, emotionless character. In fact, despite many of the critics, Aeneas possessed a vibrant personality of his own.

Vergil's Problem in Aeneas

The hero of the *Aeneis* was, as Sir Maurice Bowra puts it, the "true child of Vergil's brooding." Just as the modern scholars find it difficult to compare Aeneas with Achilles, so did Vergil. He fully realized that the warrior who raged across the plains of Troy was far too arrogant and self-seeking for a major role in a Roman epic, since he had within him too much of the heart of a Catiline. The heroic type of Homer may have been ideal for a tale of the "uncivilized" past, but for Vergil, it had "this fatal fault, that, because it lives for its own glory and satisfaction, it is bound to cause destruction."⁴

(Continued on page 67)

ginta Tyranni 30.2 (Zenobia—*quae se de Cleopatrae Ptolemaeorumque gente iactaret*), which merely says that she claimed to be of the stock of the Ptolemies, which had flourished with many branches for three hundred years before Cleopatra VI of Egypt. 8 Coin portraits of several of Antony's descendants are given in J. Babelon, *Le Portrait dans l'Antiquité d'après les Monnaies* (Paris 1942): Cleopatra Selene, Pl. 11, No. 4; Polemo II, Pl. 13, No. 7; Rhodometalces, King of Bosphorus, Pl. 13, No. 11; Juba II, King of Mauretania, Pl. 13, No. 10. Cleopatra resembles the women of the imperial household. Her hair is in the style of Livia, with a chignon at the base of the neck. All show full faces with firm chins. Juba II has thick, curly hair and a full curled beard.

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Volume 35

April 1959

Number 6

E D I T O R I A L

Consonants and Constants

Opportunism has been a besetting plague in American education at all levels. It has displayed itself in an amazing and unthinking alacrity on the part of administrators, leading them to add courses, change procedures, rewrite curricula, and generally initiate extensive modifications in response to pressures and needs of the moment. It has, in a word, eventuated in an unhappy confusion between *consonants* and *constants*.

Now a *consonant*, as here regarded, is something harmonious with, or suited and accommodated to, a need or objective. The need or objective may be transitory or abiding. But a *constant* is something permanent and enduring, universally appropriate in time and place. Thus *consonants* may often be identified with *constants*; at other times they will fall far short of the lastingness that *constants* involve.

A normal educational program of the basically liberal order cannot but include certain *constants*—natural science, social science, the language and fine arts, mathematics, character training, and the like. The absence of any one of these means an imperfect education; the undue emphasizing of any one of them at the expense of the others means a distorted education; the superimposing upon them of sundry *ad hoc* courses brought on by transient and unassessed pressures means a weakened and devitalized education.

Thus mathematics has always been an integral element in the liberal training system. There had been, regrettably, a tendency to give it, proportionately, less space in programs than it deserved and needed. But the sudden recent insistence upon the subject as almost the heart and center of our edu-

cational effort has been a distortion. And a similar distortion has been preparing in the natural sciences, for we have suddenly come to realize that great scientists are not formed, in maturity, by the rubbing of some sort of Aladdin's lamp. Such stalwart masters need, to be sure, a certain genius; but, as Cicero has reminded us long ago in his *Pro Archia*, genius *plus training* is the ideal for greatness. And the scientist must begin early—though not necessarily with "science lessons" in the kindergarten and first grade.

Again, safe driving, good health, successful cookery by both women and men, are surely desiderata in the tempo of today's life. But to achieve them through credit courses—by the injection of transitory *consonants*—is at best questionable, particularly when they go to make up the minimum tale of programs completed on the way to a basically liberal diploma or degree. And a formal course in "citizenship and civic responsibility," injected because of an observed apathy among adults in the discharge of their duties and privileges as citizens, can well be rated a *consonant*, whose essential elements should satisfactorily be supplied by thoroughly taught courses in literature and history.

Who, for example, can go far in the teaching of Greek and Latin literature without discussing with the ancient authors man's duty to the state, his place in it, the call of true patriotism upon him? How can great English speeches be read without advertence to their setting and issues? How can history be taught without our seeing its challenges to civic obligations? Liberal education in its *constants* provides for "citizenship education."

Most interesting has been the continuing zeal and zest for the teaching of Russian—a *consonant* brought on by our sudden apprehension of Russian influence and power, and by our late understanding of the woeful gap between the number of Rusisans that can handle English and the number of Americans that can handle Russian. Surely, thinking educators will applaud and abet the efforts now being made to intensify and increase the number of offerings in Russian in American schools, collegiate, secondary, and even primary. Yet here again the *constant* has been missed; and that *constant* consists in foreign language experience (whether of ancient or modern tongues) in general, and in a developing sensitivity to language other than our own English. All is not lost in the international scene if we fail to produce over-night a huge crop of American readers and writers and speakers of Russian. But much has been lost, and will continue to be lost, if we fail to keep vibrant and strong a feeling for foreign language and a mastery of some segment of foreign language in our programs of liberal study.

—W. C. K.

Martial 1.107 (Englished)

My dearest Julius, this is what
You tell me constantly:
"For heavens' sake, write something great!
How lazy can you be?"

Give us the leisure Vergil had
The leisure that Maecenas
Gave Horace, too, and we'll essay
Our darndest to redeem us

In your cold eyes. We'll write a work
To last for generations,
A work that will defy the wrack
Of Time's swift depredations.

A bullock scorns to waste his strength
On sandy, sterile soil.
A rich field tires but delights
And challenges his toil.

Ralph Marcellino

West Hempstead (New York) High School

Aeneas: True Man of True Emotion

(Continued from page 65)

Here is the heart of Vergil's problem: how could he create a hero with all the depth and dynamism of the Homeric giants and at the same time pour into him the unselfish *virtus*, *pietas*, and *gravitas* that he believed were the moral powers that had molded the Roman Empire? The meditative mind of Vergil could see no true human heroism in a sacker of cities or bloodthirsty slayer of men. His ideal leading man must be a forerunner of Numa Pompilius in loyalty to the gods, of Scipio Africanus in valiant devotion to the state, and, above all, of Augustus himself in paternal government of mankind. Slowly and ponderously, the character called Aeneas began to evolve and take flesh in the mind of the Mantuan—*pius Aeneas*, *pater Aeneas*, Aeneas the devoted Founder of the Roman Nation.

But the development of his ideal Roman carried Vergil into the danger of obliterating the personality of his hero. Bowra, in his discussion of this problem, perhaps goes a little too far in declaring, "Vergil has put so much into Aeneas that he has hardly made him a living man."⁶ Aeneas is definitely a real individual with an appealing character, although he admittedly lacks the clear-cut outline and brilliant colors of Achilles. His tones are of a softer and more restrained nature, for Aeneas, unlike Achilles, is at heart a man of peace, a true Roman of the Golden Age.

Aeneas a Man of Vigor and Life

Vergil put vigor and life into his ideal simply by giving him three recurrent qualities of a human being—faults, growth, and emotions. Since nearly every Vergilian critic, whether admirer or antag-

onist, usually enumerates the obvious faults in Aeneas' character, especially in the first four books,⁷ and since many articles have dealt with the growth of his character, there is no need to reiterate those two points here. The remainder of this essay will be concerned with pointing out the many passages in the *Aeneis* which prove that Aeneas possessed those universal sparks of life called "personal emotions," and that these emotions have helped lift Vergil's ideal Roman to a rank among the immortals of literature.

The first six books of the *Aeneis* abound in examples of Aeneas' personal emotions. In the opening section, after seven of the battered Trojan ships find refuge from the storm, Aeneas, though weary almost to despair, nimbly climbs the cliffs above the Libyan coast in an attempt to spy his thirteen lost biremes. Suddenly his gaze lights upon a small band of deer feeding near the shore. No sooner does he seize his bow from *fidus Achates* than seven nimble deer topple to the earth. This view of Aeneas the huntsman is immediately followed by the memorable scene around the campfire in which Aeneas pours life and hope back into his drooping followers (1.198-207). Here is a vivid, life-size portrait of Vergil's quiet hero, a man who can at the same time mourn the supposed drowning of his companions and yet lift a band of sea-worn exiles back to life.

The subsequent passage in which Aeneas views with admiration the rising walls and edifices of Carthage, as T. R. Glover notes, shows something more than his longing to found a kingdom of his own in Hesperia (1.421-440). Aeneas has an eye for artistry, as he also shows later, first at the gates of Dido's temple and afterwards at the portals of the Cumae temple to Apollo. There is no need to comment here on the immortal *sunt lacrimae rerum* except to remark that this is spoken by the so-called "insipid" Aeneas. And, lastly, although the remainder of the first book is concerned mainly with the noble Queen Dido's reception of the Trojans and her fatal passion for Aeneas, yet every time that Aeneas acts, whether it is in his uncontrollable desire to reveal himself to his regained companions, or in his dignified and soul-moving speech of gratitude to the queen, or in his *patrius amor* shown toward young Ascanius, he clearly displays personal emotions that are certainly not those of a stolid "Stoic type."⁸

Aeneas in His Brightest Hues

However, Vergil painted Aeneas in his brightest colors when he allowed him to recount his misfortunes to the Carthaginian court. Since every word of the second and third books is spoken by Aeneas, they are bound to reveal the depths of his personality. To sum up this section, W. F. Jackson Knight's description is well worth recalling: "Aeneas is in-

tensely real in the Second *Aeneid*, a man of strong passions and individuality, as his emotional exclamations prove, and a soldier prince of great gallantry, as his courageous and commanding part in the battle declares."⁹ How anyone can read Aeneas' lamenting account of Sinon, Laocoon, and the *fatalis machina*, of his own emotion-choked frenzy during the fiery siege, and of his desperate flight through the flaming streets of Troy, his father on his back and his son running by his side—and still cast at Vergil the charge of creating a "tame and colorless character," seems beyond comprehension.

One passage, in particular, deserves special notice when the personal emotions of Aeneas are in question. It is the strange scene in which Vergil's hero espies Helen cowering in a doorway as the battle storms around her (2.567-587). Aeneas' reaction, though certainly blameworthy, is more important from the viewpoint of its emotional pitch. Here the future founder of a new nation meets the woman he believed to be the cause of the destruction of his Trojan fatherland. His response is no timid scolding. As he himself says:

Exarsere ignes animo; subit ira cadentem
Ulcisci patriam et sceleratas sumere poenas (2.575-576).

At this point, Vergil seems forced to bring Venus down from the heavens to stop the rage of her son.

Just a brief mention must be made of the concluding fifty lines of the fall of Troy. The heart-rending account of the futile search for Creusa and of her tender appearance to Aeneas in a vision, although he allows himself only a brief description of it, nonetheless ranks as a passage charged with emotion. This is followed by the sad picture of *pater Aeneas*, again with Anchises on his back, leading the terrified remnant of Troy toward rest and refuge beneath the shadow of Mount Ida.

Since the third book covers such a long space, both of time and of travel, Aeneas' personality does not shine through his narrative quite so brilliantly as before. But what of his *frigidus horror* at discovering the bleeding shoots growing out of the grave of Polydorus? And of his sympathetic inquiry into the fortunes of Andromache? And later, his tear-filled departure from Helenus and Chaonian Troy? Even the schoolboy can pity with Aeneas the ill-starred Greek, Achaemenides, who had been stranded in the cave of the Cyclops. Finally, of course, the death of Anchises is briefly but pathetically mentioned by Aeneas as he concludes his adventures.

In general, then, most of the critics of Aeneas have not seemed to pay much attention to the fact that every emotion in the second and third books can be attributed to Aeneas, for, as the storyteller, he is the one who dramatically arouses these emotions. Most of the carpers are so taken up with the Vergilian notion of fate that they fail to study Aeneas himself objectively as he appears in the narrative.

The Fifth and Sixth Books

Since the Aeneas-Dido tragedy more conveniently falls under the general heading of Aeneas' "defects," let us pass it over and take a quick glance at the fifth book. Here we find some faint traces of a sense of humor in Aeneas, for he can laugh along with his men at the swan dive of Menoetes (5.181-182), and he can cheerfully give a consolation prize to Nisus, the hapless runner who took a tumble (5.358-361). Besides humor, he displays paternal tact and firmness in his reproaches to the boxer Dares for his empty boasting (5.465-467).

The descent to the underworld, with its sorrows, terrors, and consolations, is so well known to every lover of Vergil that he will readily admit that here, at least, Aeneas is no vapid plaything of the gods.

The Second Six Books

In the final half of Vergil's epic, Aeneas' emotions are not so varied or prominent. Among other reasons, the entire action takes place in a brief space of less than a month, and Aeneas himself is not on the scene so often as before. But, above all, Aeneas has learned to control his emotions; his trials and visions have given him a deeper understanding of his destiny, and therefore he shows less emotional fluctuation. But he has not "lost the air of life,"¹⁰ as one scholar would have it. He is a human tornado on the battlefield and his emotions are still strong, though now under the control of his will.

Four passages, all famous, stand out as excellent examples of the firmer, deeper emotions of the mature Aeneas. The first is his meeting with Evander in the eighth book. Even the modern reader can perceive in this scene the haunting sense of wonder that the Romans felt through the emotions of Aeneas wandering with the Arcadian king through his rustic domain, the seat of future Rome:

Miratur facilisque oculos fert omnia circum
Aeneas, capiturque locis et singula laetus
Exquirique auditque virum monumenta priorum
(8.310-312).

This is not the turbulent Aeneas of Troy, but it is a true man of true emotion. Another display of these more gentle feelings occurs in Book 11, where, as Glover points out, Aeneas the peacemaker is eager to settle the chaotic war, even at the risk of his own life, in a duel with the furious Turnus (11.108-119).

And yet, as is shown by his fierce rage over the death of Pallas in Book 10 as well as by his slaying of Turnus in the closing lines of the epic, Aeneas is forever a man of powerful emotions, but, in the end, these emotions do not direct Aeneas; rather, they are directed by him toward vengeance on the man who had slaughtered and plundered the son of Evander.¹¹

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From this hurried review of some of the highlights of Vergil's masterpiece, it requires no astute discernment to conclude that he has succeeded in molding his "ideal Roman" into a real personality. Select any of Aristotle's emotions—pity, fear, love, anger, and so on—and Aeneas possessed it, not in a general or abstract form, as do Bunyan's characters in *Pilgrim Progress*, but in the particular, passionate form of individual human beings. Since the poet's central theme was *Romanam condere gentem*, the character of Aeneas is necessarily not so dominating as that of the heroes of Homer. Perhaps the main cause for the failure of countless commentators to see anything but an unromantic "type" in Aeneas can be traced to Vergil himself. In his complexity and refinement of artistic detail, Vergil has given to the world a poem so full of aesthetic, historical, and philosophical wonders, that the hapless Aeneas is crowded out of the minds of his readers. Far too many readers become submerged in select passages and fail to see the whole Aeneas of Vergil's contemplation. Certainly, in the mind of Vergil, he was a true man of emotion, a complex and captivating hero, and most of all, one might say, he is the first and the "noblest Roman of them all."¹²

David J. Leigh, S.J.

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Sheridan, Oregon

NOTES

1 James Henry, in the first volume of his *Aeneidea* (647) quotes Charles James Fox, the English orator, using this phrase in a letter to his friend Trotter (Russell's *Memoir of Fox* IV 465). 2 T. E. Page, *The Aeneid of Virgil* (London 1894) I xviii. 3 W. Y. Sellar, *The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age: Virgil* (Oxford 1897) 399. 4 C. M. Bowra, *From Virgil To Milton* (London 1945) 56. It would be difficult to find a clearer, simpler, or more satisfying analysis of the relationship between Vergil and Homer than the opening fifty pages of this book. 5 Ibid 84. 6 Ibid. 69. 7 For modern treatments of the ageless problem of Aeneas' flaws, see any of the following: Bowra, op. cit. (*supra*, n. 4) 66-69; Edward Kennard Rand, *The Magical Art of Virgil* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931) 349-372; J. N. Hritzu, "New and Broader Interpretation of the Ideality of Aeneas," *CW* 39 (1946) 98-103, 106-110; Charles Knapp, "Character of Aeneas," *CJ* 26 (1930) 99-111. 8 Bowra, op. cit. (*supra*, n. 4) 65. 9 W. F. Jackson Knight, *Virgil's Troy* (Oxford 1932) 70. 10 T. R. Glover, *Virgil* (London 1930) 211. 11 Knapp, op. cit. (*supra*, n. 7) 99-111. 12 The development of the character of Aeneas "is not likely to strike us unless we read the whole *Aeneid* through, without distracting our minds with other reading, and this few of us do. I did it some ten years ago; before that the development of character had not dawned on me fully." W. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London 1911) 425, note.

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Breviora

As to "Emendanda, Restauranda"

Editor's Note: In the CLASSICAL BULLETIN of December last (p. 22) Professor Leo Max Kaiser, of Loyola University at Chicago, presented for possible elucidation "this elegiac distich over the grave (in the Old Colonial Cemetery in Savannah, Georgia) of the Reverend Samuel Frink (d. 1773): QUID MONUMENTA PARO NOSTRO CIU PECTOREM INTERICURA DIE SUNT MONUMENTA. These words have been copied exactly from *Some Early Epitaphs in Georgia* (Georgia Society of the Colonial Dames of America: Durham 1924) 110."

Other readers will have been more ingenious. Our best is: Quid monumenta paro nostro cum in pectore vivis Interitura die sunt monumenta suo. The sense would be "Why put up a monument, when monuments are just as perishable as we are?" Timothy Horner, O.S.B.

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Concerning Propertius 1.2

"E egli stesso," says Ettore Bignone of Propertius, "il peggior persuaditore di semplicità, nell'atto che se ne fa maestro."¹ What Bignone seems to have particularly in mind is the fact that Propertius in his second elegy urges Cynthia to eschew cosmetics and expensive raiment, unnecessary in the case of one who is truly beautiful:

crede mihi, non ulla tuae est medicina figurae:
nudus Amor formae non amat artificem (7-8).²

yet supports his plea with artfully contrived sequences of *exempla* drawn from the natural sciences (9-14) or from mythology (15-20). To these he has subjoined even an erudite reference to the techniques of the painter Apelles (21-22).

The earlier series of *exempla*, consisting as it does of pleasant commonplaces—the beauty and colorfulness of plants which grow wild, the knowledgeability of the untrained watercourse, the charm of a self-coloring landscape, the tunefulness of those winged creatures who *nulla dulcius arte canunt*³—is comparatively unobjectionable. Annoyance to the reader comes rather from the fact that here, as in the mythological allusions which follow, Propertius has piled *exemplum* upon *exemplum*, though one or two would have sufficed.⁴ In the latter sequence, moreover, the use of the anaphorical combination *non sic . . . non . . . nec* to introduce three successive couplets can only serve as a reminder that the sisters Phoebe and Hylaeira, who won the love of the Dioscuri without recourse to meretricious adornments (15-16),⁵ that Evenus' daughter Marpesa, cause of dissension between mortal Idas and divine Apollo (17-18), that Hippodamia, who became the bride of Pelops (19-20), are all to be regarded as interchangeable and replaceable units in a catalogue after the manner of the Hesiodic *Eoiai*⁶ or, less creditably, of the *Leontion* of Hermesianax.

If, then, Propertius' plea for simplicity is set forth in a thoroughly artificial poem, should the poem itself be condemned for lack of integration between form and content? The answer would be "yes" if it could be shown that the poet's intention here was only, as Bignone seems to have thought, to effect persuasion in the most obvious and direct manner. But continued scrutiny of the elegy in question will show that Propertius has deliberately created a disharmony between theme and manner of treatment in order to provide subtle reinforcement for the former. Not only does he declare that what is simple and natural is best; he also ironically underlines the declaration by constructing an apparatus of proofs so extensive and so elaborate that it verges on the ludicrous. By so doing Propertius has both demonstrated what he openly claims to be saying for Cynthia's benefit—that is, that uncontrived beauty exercises the greater charm—and has indirectly shown the ridiculousness of artificiality and contrivance, the very point which he was endeavoring to put across when at the beginning of the poem he questioned Cynthia about the value of a beautiful woman's donning Coan robes or decorating and perfuming her hair.⁷

Donald Norman Levin

Mount Holyoke College

NOTES

1 *Enciclopedia Italiana* XXVIII 327, s.v. "Properzio." 2 Citing a kindred passage from Plautus' *Mostellaria* (288-292), P. J. Enk, *Sez. Propertii Elegiarum Liber I* (Mono-

biblos) (Leyden 1946) II 21, indicates support for Wheeler's view that the ultimate sources of Propertius 1.2 are to be found in Greek comedy. 3 Cf. the "profuse strains of unpremeditated art" poured forth by Shelley's skylark. 4 Note the annoyed comments of Bignone, loc. cit. (*supra*, n. 1), "l'erudito si rivela troppo spesso," and Schanz-Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* (Munich 1935) II¹ 201 ("die Häufung von Vergleichen erkaltet durch ihr Übermass"). These remarks are directed not only at the second elegy, but at Propertius' writings in general. 5 "Not by meretricious adornments" is the explanation of *non sic* provided by Butler and Barber ad loc.: *The Elegies of Propertius* (Oxford 1933) 157. Justification for their choice of adjective can be gleaned from the fourth and fifth verses of the poem itself (*teque peregrinis uendere muneribus, / naturaeque decus mercato perdere cultu*). 6 *Non sic* (cf. Propertius 1.15.9 and 17, where *at non sic* and *nec sic* are employed respectively in a similar catalogue of heroines who have something in common) seems to be the negative equivalent of *ἡ οἴη*, the locution to which the Hesiodic collection (also designated by ancient authorities as *κατάλογος τῶν γυναικῶν*) owes its name. 7 Note also Propertius' closing wish that Cynthia may always find music and poetry a delight, *luxuriae* baneful.

Report on the 1959 Eta Sigma Phi Contests

Total entries in all contests: 155

Fourteenth Annual Essay Contest: 32 entries—23 institutions.

- 1) William J. Parente—Milford Juniorate, Cincinnati.
- 2) Sister Mary Antone, SSND—Notre Dame College, Saint Louis.
- 3) Carol Winker—Mount Mary College, Milwaukee.
- 4) John D. Willigan—Shadowbrook Juniorate, Lenox, Massachusetts.
- 5) Piroška Molnar—Trinity College, Washington, D. C.
- 6) Janet Flick—Rosary College, River Forest, Illinois.

Tenth Annual Greek Translation Contest: 48 entries—21 institutions.

- 1) Kevin George O'Connell—Shadowbrook Juniorate, Lenox, Massachusetts.
- 2) Robert E. White—Shadowbrook Juniorate.
- 3) John T. Mansfield—Milford Juniorate, Cincinnati.
- 4) Albert J. Jung—Saint Charles College, Grand Coteau, Louisiana.
- 5) Richard J. J. Furnell—University College, Toronto.
- 6) Robert J. Wenstrup, Milford Juniorate, Cincinnati.

Ninth Annual Satterfield Latin Translation Contest: 75 entries—37 institutions.

- 1) Charles Vanderholt—Saint Charles College, Grand Coteau, Louisiana.
- 2) Jon W. N. Hatfield—University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
- 3) Ivars Avotins—University College, Toronto.

Honorable Mention to the following four: C. Lee Miller—Saint Louis University, Saint Louis; Joseph B. Voyles—Indiana University, Bloomington; Francis R. Dowling—Saint Charles College, Grand Coteau, Louisiana; Edward J. Wynne, Jr.—Saint Louis University.

Book Reviews

Arnold J. Toynbee, *Hellenism, the History of a Civilization*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1959. Pp. xv, 222; two maps. \$4.50.

Over forty years ago, before World War I, Professor Gilbert Murray commissioned Dr. Arnold Toynbee to write this book for the *Home University Library*. What a different book was expected then! Greece and Hellenism seemed, in those smug years, to be the guiding lights of a secular, man-centered civilization. Since that day two devastating wars have convulsed the world, both followed by even more ominous revolutions. Greece and Hellenism no longer seem to be the answer. Faced with the sobering experiences of the first half of the twentieth century, Toynbee turned afresh to the task in 1951. Toynbee's interest is no longer merely humanism but is now also Religion. He sees Hellenism's history as a plot with a tragic ending, one of suicide. Humanism is not enough. In the short space of 272 pages he examines Hellenism—

which proved to be for him the prototype for his *A Study of History*, that clinical examination of the lives of all the civilizations that have been on this planet.

It was essentially as a classical scholar that Toynbee began his studies; his mind has been longest focused on this plot of land, Greece and the adjacent areas. Seeing now the whole story also from a spiritual angle he has a yardstick by which to judge what is relevant and what not. We are given a fascinating analysis of the "arms race" of the ancient world, symbol of the failure to face the challenge to federate. We are also given a careful account of the alienation of the internal proletariat of the Roman Empire in the chapter entitled: "The Age of Agony." As in *A Study of History*, warfare has a large place and once again a keen interest is shown in the technique of armaments. He gives penetrating pictures of great figures: Socrates, Alexander, Augustus; in passing, he tells the history of the alphabet and endless other matters.

Hellenism was followed by Christianity, but the latter carried in its stream, suspended and in part unsuspected, much of Hellenism. We may disagree with Toynbee's analysis here and there, particularly an implication that the Incarnation is seeing the Redeemer through Hellenic eyes. The deifying of human beings, especially of the type of godliness they were supposed to assume, and the taking of a human nature by the very God, are so widely separate and in a sense contradictory, that it seems impossible to the present writer that that Hebrew among Hebrews, Saint Paul, and that Jew of the Jews, Saint John, could have taken their cue from Gentiles, whose pagan religions they abominated. But true it is that Greek thought was used to interpret Christ to the Hellenes, just as Ricci used Confucius to lead the Chinese to Christ and the Vedas were used by Nobili to lead the Brahmins to Him also. All that is true is of God, and what is God's is Christ's, and what is Christ's is ours. We are co-heirs with Christ. The fact that Hellenism had in its system a sense of the closeness of the gods to men may well have made it easier for the Apostles to tell them of the Incarnation. But their idea of the gods was so ungodlike that one cannot suppose the Apostles wanted the Hellenes to associate the God which is Christ with that dissolute and disreputable band, whom already Euripides derided.

Once again we have that immense sweep of knowledge, that precision on details, those surprising and enlightening insights. Toynbee is not afraid to assert; he carries his argument through to the end. Here is a master historian still seeking a theology.

Columba Carey-Elwes, O.S.B.

Saint Louis Priory School,
Creve Coeur, Missouri

John E. Rexine, *Solon and His Political Theory: The Contemporary Significance of a Basic Contribution to Political Theory by One of the Seven Wise Men*. New York, The William-Frederick Press, 1958. Pp. 21. \$1.00.

Mr. John E. Rexine of Colgate University's department of classics endeavors to show with this concise essay Solon's contribution to political theory, and to point out its significance for us. This he does by referring constantly to the original sources, which he quotes liberally. Rexine "lets Solon speak for himself."

All along, the writer stresses the practical considerations of Solon, the great *δiallaktes* and the man of the middle road. "Solon did not work out a political theory in the strict, modern sense of the word, but the outlines of a theory were there" (p. 21). He took over Hesiod's views of justice and completed them. However, he was more rational than that poet. In the exposition of Solon's political theory there figure prominently the fundamental terms and principles of that theory, such as *dixn*, *εὐνομία*, *δυσνομία*. It is emphasized that Solon contributed to political theory the idea that the state is a living organism and, as such, is subject to the laws of health and sickness.

The political ideas and ideals of Solon have a value and message for every people and period, but more especially for a democracy like ours; and in a period of stress like the present, it is a refreshing experience to be reminded by Rexine's essay of the legacy of a man whose name has become synonymous with lawmaking.

Rexine's exposition is to be commended for its clarity. The work is well printed and handsomely presented. The copy of the bronze bust of Solon (National Museum of Naples) on the cover is a very judicious adornment.

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Austin College

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G. M. Kirkwood, *A Study of Sophoclean Drama* (Cornell Studies in Classical Philosophy 31). Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 1958. Pp. xiii, 304 and 2. \$5.00.

The reader will find in Professor Kirkwood's book on Sophoclean drama a philosophical study that combines the latest modern scholarship with sensible but conservative literary criticism. Professor Kirkwood reacts against what he would consider recent attempts to explain Sophocles as a whole by extreme hypotheses which bear little or no relation to the Greek text or to what we actually know of Greek drama.

Kirkwood's book deals with Sophocles, not play by play, as is the case with so many Sophoclean studies, but rather in terms of tragedy, construction, character portrayal, the role of the chorus, diction, and irony.

Kirkwood believes that "in Sophocles the meaning of the play is . . . dependent on the nature of the central figure" (p. 36). "Sophoclean tragedy is an action in which admirable character and crucial situation are combined; the situation involves religious and moral issues and entails suffering for the leading figure" (p. 16). This thesis is maintained throughout the book (cf. p. 97), and, of course, for Kirkwood, Sophoclean drama is drama which depends on the interaction of character, no matter what the particular form the Sophoclean play may happen to take.

In short, *A Study of Sophoclean Drama* is a very careful and competent study of Sophocles from the conservative philosophical point of view. Mr. Kirkwood has written an excellent analysis of Sophocles, which is primarily intended for those who know Sophocles intimately, though the book may be used profitably by the serious interested reader.

John E. Rexine

Colgate University

Robert Duff Murray, Jr., *The Motif of Io in Aeschylus' Suppliants*. Princeton, New Jersey, The Princeton University Press, 1958. Pp. xi, 104. \$2.00.

This small book deals with a difficult subject, the *Supplikes* of Aeschylus. Professor Murray's express purpose in this work is to prove "that the allegory of Io is not only dramatically relevant to the Danaid trilogy but altogether indispensable to its correct interpretation" (p. 17). Murray, in this analysis of imagery, never once defines what he means by imagery, symbols, allegory, and the like, though he lists and discusses four images which he describes as (1) bull and cow; (2) contrast of male and female; (3) touch and seizure; and (4) breath, wind, and storm. Though his discussion is based on the order of frequency of these subjects in the *Supplikes*, the reader will be disturbed at Murray's unusual or quite mistaken use of some very important terms.

Mr. Murray links the Io motif with the *Supplikes* through *Hypermetra*, because it is she "who finally understands the full meaning of her destiny, and she refuses to murder her husband" (p. 60). The common bond between Io and *Hypermetra* Murray finds in the realization of both of "the glory and necessity of motherhood, the perhaps not fully conscious realization of the role of the female as the transmitter of life and civilization" (p. 60). This argument really forms the core around which Murray's interpretation revolves.

The chapter headings "Introduction," "The Imagery of the *Suppliants*," "The Aeschylean Io," "The Meaning of the Motif of Io," "Hypermetra and the Themes of the Trilogy," can provide a rough outline of the subject. Appendix A discusses the chronology of the *Supplikes* and the *Prometheus Vinctus* with the general conclusion that there is a likelihood of chronological proximity of these two tragedies (in the 460's). Of course, the error that was once common, that of accepting the *Supplikes* as Aeschylus' earlier play on the basis of style, is discussed and corrected. Appendix B discusses line 8 and the motivation of the Danaids with the general conclusion that line 8 offers no evidence of a general misanthropy as the real motive for the Danaids' active unwillingness to marry the Egyptians, but rather because of the hidden violence of the Egyptians. There is a brief bibliography at the end.

This small book is clearly written and presents an interesting thesis, but Mr. Murray will undoubtedly and justifiably be criticized for failing to define and clarify some of his most important terms.

John E. Rexine

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